



THE KEYNOTER



1908 • WM. HOWARD TAFT • 1912

Managing Editor's Message

Welcome to another potpourri issue. There is a little something for everyone, with the possible exception of locals collectors. We are still looking for a locals editor, to supply regular articles about interesting locals items and candidates. Actually, there are some interesting locals-related items in Bob Cutter's hopefuls article.

Once again, we have run a memorial on the APIC News page. This is always a sad duty, particularly where it concerns a good friend, as Ed Potter was. Ed not only infused meetings with his effervescent spirit, but was a willing, generous financial supporter of APIC national and local activities, as David Frent points out on page 38. Another well-known collector, Robert Whitehead of San Francisco also passed away this year. Bob was a serious inaugural collector with an extensive collection. The last several inaugurations, he visited Washington, D.C. and came by my house. His brand of involved collecting and his outlook on the hobby will be missed by his friends and fellow collectors around the country.

Finally, treasure this issue of the *Keynoter* — it may be the last one for a long time. What you see is almost all of the articles and submitted items remaining in our inventory. If you wonder why the box on the next page is blank, it is because I have no idea what will be available in the next month or so to put into another issue. If there ever was an article you wanted to do or a picture you wanted to send in, **NOW IS THE TIME TO COME TO THE AID OF YOUR KEYNOTER!** If you would like to discuss doing something, call me - toll free - weekdays at 1-800-336-0156.


Robert A. Fratkan

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Managing Editor
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Manuscript Editor
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Contributing Editors
John Pfeifer
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Museum Associates
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Edmund B. Sullivan

Historian
U. L. "Chick" Harris

Contributors
Donald Ackerman
Paul F. Boller, Jr.
John Bowles
Jeannine Coup
Robert Cutter
Mark Gelke
John Gingerich
Dwayne Yancey

Photography
M. W. Arps, Jr.
Robert Frarkin
Theodore Hake

Support Services
Vi Hayes

THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Triannually

Volume 87, Number 1

Spring 1987

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Illustrations: The Editors wish to thank Donald Ackerman, Tom Anderson, Richard Brown, Robert Cutter, David Frent, John Gingerich, Marshall Goldberg, Theodore Hake, John Pfeifer, Morton Rose and The Smithsonian Institution for contributing pieces to this issue.

Covers: *Front* - Multicolor tin plate 1908, overprinted for 1909 Inauguration;
Back - multicolor canvas street banner

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

For a discussion of the contents of the next issue of the Keynoter, see the managing editor's message on page 2.

William Howard Taft

THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

By Jeannine Coup

Keynoter articles usually focus on the "candidate" — the individual and his campaigns. However, in this issue, Jeannine Coup gives us an insight into William Howard Taft — lawyer, family man, President, and Supreme Court Justice, but never a politician. Jeannine unravels the motivators, the drives, the experiences that molded Taft into the man he was, and the President he was not.

For an excellent history of Taft's 1908 and 1912 campaigns, The Keynoter recommends Edwin Palmer Hoyt, Jr.'s *Jumbos and Jackasses*, Doubleday and Company, 1960. This book is "a popular history of political wars" from 1860 through 1956.

Historians have, for years, been perplexed with William Howard Taft's life. Why did he function so exceptionally well in all positions he held prior to the presidency, but so ineffectively as president?

Because of his excellent record, Taft came to the White House with praise and universal good-will. He could have accomplished much, but instead, earned the nicknames "Taft the Blunderer" and "Taft the Great Postponer." Just the opposite happened when a few years after his defeat as president in 1912, he was chosen Chief Justice of the United States and served on that distinguished court effectively until his death in 1930.

Taft's inner conflicts and dependency on other people began in his childhood, continued throughout his marriage and tainted his relationship with the authoritarian figure, Theodore Roosevelt. The whole world could witness when Taft was happy and content with his work and when he wasn't. Always a heavy man, Taft reached his greatest weight, 355 pounds, when he was his unhappiest in the White House and his lowest weight, 260 pounds, when he was enjoying his years as Chief Justice.

Both William Howard Taft and his father, Alphonso Taft, longed for an appointment to the Supreme Court; only William was to achieve that goal. Alphonso Taft had no driving ambition to rise in the political arena. He was content to enjoy a successful judicial career, William Taft was very much like his father, the same personal traits and the same aspirations to be a lawyer and judge, rather than a politician.

Louisa, Taft's mother, was an exceptional woman. She attended college, then with her sister Delia, taught and traveled, though never becoming financially independent. Louisa wrote to Delia, "Father finds us too expensive. I'm afraid we shall have to get married. That would be a disagreeable expedient."

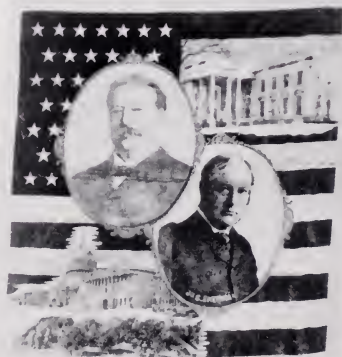
In 1853 Louisa met Alphonso Taft, a widower seventeen

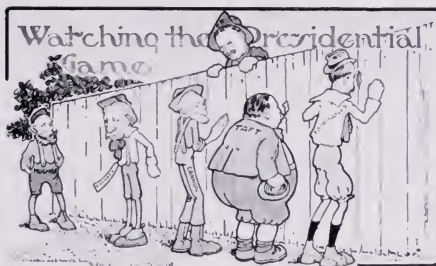
years her senior with two sons. They were married a few months later. In 1875 President Grant appointed Alphonso Taft, then age 65, to be Secretary of War, then one year later Attorney General. Louisa was happy to leave the stiffling atmosphere of Ohio for the excitement of Washington, D.C. Five years later Louisa interceded with President Chester Arthur on her husband's behalf in seeking an appointment as Ambassador to Austria-Hungary. President Arthur granted the request and in 1881 the Taft's left for Vienna. Alphonso had few official duties, so the Tafts devoted most of their time to social affairs.

As long as his parents lived, Taft continued to seek their advice in nearly every matter. Louisa was the most ambitious member of the family and pushed her children and step-children to accomplish something.

The emotional patterns Taft developed as a child made him an ideal mate for Nellie Herron, who had much the same personality as did Taft's mother. Nellie took over where his parents left off — with an even more forceful purpose.

Nellie was the daughter of John Williamson Herron, a prominent Cincinnati lawyer, influential Republican, former state senator and personal friend of President Rutherford B. Hayes. In 1877, seventeen year old Nellie spent several weeks in the White House with her parents as guests of President Hayes. Nellie had not yet "come out" as a debutante, so as she wrote, "I couldn't spend my time in the White House as I would have liked, in going to brilliant parties and meeting all manner of charming people." Because of that momentous experience, she vowed to marry only a man "destined to become president of the United States." This statement of Nellie's should not be taken lightly for as we shall see, it was she who pushed





Taft into the presidency. Once when asked who first thought of Taft as president, Nellie snapped, "I did!"

Nellie Herron was fiercely independent and an exceptional student. She attended a university in Ohio and majored in chemistry and German. After graduation she spent most of her time in her father's law office. Nellie was ambitious but unable to find an outlet of her own so used her timid, good-natured husband to expand her own horizons.

William Howard Taft rose to national prominence mostly through appointments, not elected politics. After graduating from law school in 1880, William Howard became involved in local and state Republican politics. He was appointed assistant prosecutor of Hamilton County and seven years later Governor Joseph B. Foraker appointed him to the Superior Court of Ohio. The next year, 1888, Taft won a five year term to the Superior Court of Ohio; this being the only election that he entered until he was elected president.

He only remained on the Superior Court for two years, where he dreamed of an appointment to the Supreme Court. Instead, President Harrison appointed him Solicitor General in 1890, a position Nellie hoped would give him, "an opportunity for exactly the kind of work I wished him to do."

Nine months prior to Taft's arrival in Washington, Harrison had grudgingly granted Theodore Roosevelt an appointment as a civil service commissioner.

Taft and T.R. had much in common. Both lived alone, far from their families and in the same neighborhood. They soon became acquainted, began walking to work

and lunching together. Their friendship was built on mutual trust and admiration.

Ten years later T.R. had made a name for himself as police commissioner of New York City but wanted the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. T.R. asked his friend Taft, who had access to the new President William McKinley, for help in obtaining this appointment. T.R. got the post and from there his rise to national politics was meteoric.

McKinley was also instrumental in developing Taft's career. In 1900 he appointed Taft to the newly created Philippine Commission. Taft, at first, did not want to be involved with America's newly acquired lands because he held anti-imperialist views. Taft, as usual, felt he did not possess the proper qualifications for the job. He felt that McKinley "...might as well have told me that he wanted me to make a flying machine!"

He was also not eager to leave Washington. Already he had his eye on an appointment to the Supreme Court. However, McKinley needed a Republican of proven integrity and legal experience to Americanize the Philippines. McKinley promised that Taft's career would not suffer and that he would be considered for a court appointment soon. With that promise Taft became the first Governor-General of the Philippines.

Taft's appointment ushered in the "Taft era" in the Philippines which extended to 1913 because of his continuing close connection as Secretary of War, then as President of the United States.

Though Taft was criticized by those opposed to American involvement, he did avoid the worst features of



19th century imperialism. Taft envisioned economic development of the islands for the sake of the Filipinos. The people would be provided with education and public services and the U.S. would gain raw materials. Even though Taft wanted eventual self-government for the Philippines, during his era the native people encompassed only the lower echelons of civil service. To the frustration of the upper-class Filipinos, Taft felt that they must prove their efficiency and ability.

Unable to live only on Taft's salary, Nellie's fears of penury were relieved when Taft's older half-brother, Charles, married one of Ohio's richest heiresses. Always interested in William's career, Charles began generous gifts of money that enabled them to maintain a good standard of living. Charles later helped finance William's campaign for the presidency.

Taft and Nellie lived like royalty in the Philippines. This was the life Nellie had envisioned for herself and she was enjoying it. Nellie delighted in going driving, shopping, having afternoon teas, champagne and entertaining in the evening.

Taft also flourished. As Governor-general he had dictatorial powers. He did not have to deal with any political problems, party leaders, congressmen, senators or governors.

Under Taft's administration the Philippines became a feather in the Republican Party's cap. Taft became well known both at home and abroad. When T.R. became president he offered his old friend a seat on the Supreme Court vacated by retiring Justice George Shiras. T.R. wrote, "You can at this juncture do far better service on the Supreme Court than any other man. I feel your duty is on the Court unless you have decided not to adopt a judicial career."

Taft's appointment would help smooth T.R.'s own nomination by eliminating a potential competitor. Taft would have preferred a judicial career, but Nellie and his

brothers wanted him to seek the presidency.

Upon hearing that Taft might leave them, the Filipinos expressed their dissatisfaction. They covered Manila with posters saying, "Queremos Taft" (We Want Taft). Cheering crowds surrounded the Malacanán Palace shouting for Taft to stay. Speeches were given declaring Taft a saint.

Taft asked T.R. to let him stay. After protesting, T.R. cabled, "All right, you shall stay where you are, and I will get another man for the Court."

Taft confessed to his half-brother, Charles, "Of course I should very much have liked to go on that bench..." He felt departure at this time would adversely affect the Islands and would be "considered by the Filipinos as an indication that severe and unpopular measures were about to be put in force."

Again Taft was offered a Supreme Court position in January of 1903 by T.R. and again he refused. "It has always been my dream to be in the Supreme Court, but...these people expect me back and believe I will not desert them." Taft stayed not only because he was personally committed to the Philippines but he was also influenced by his wife. Nellie enjoyed her life in the Islands and did not wish to leave it for the life of a judge's wife. Taft wrote that Nellie "was quite disappointed that I should be 'shelved' on the bench at my age."

The Taft's stay was not to last much longer for in March, 1903 an offer came which suited Nellie's ambitions. T.R. wanted him to become his Secretary of War in place of the retiring Elihu Root. T.R. convinced Taft that he could do more for the Filipino people and could still control any situation from Washington. Although he felt unqualified to fill Root's shoes and confessed "no knowledge of army matters and no taste for or experience in politics," he agreed to leave Manila for Washington.

Despite Nellie's eagerness for this position, he hesitated because it was likely to involve him in the 1904 presi-



Mirror



Mechanical



Mirror



dential campaign, which, experience had taught him, "would be most distasteful to me, for I have no love for American politics." Politics were to Nellie's taste however, and determined the issue.

As Secretary of War, Taft's time was occupied by the Panama Canal. He traveled to Panama for onsite inspections. His knowledge of the canal enterprise became extensive and his supervision of the construction continued until his retirement from the presidency in 1913. Roosevelt would later brag, "I took the Canal Zone." Where in reality Taft built it.

After T.R.'s election in 1904, Taft's role shifted to that of an assistant president. T.R.'s increasing confidence in him and the failing health of Secretary of State John Hay forced Taft into the temporary job of acting Secretary of State in 1905. Along with these duties, Taft acted as Colonial Secretary for the Territories newly acquired during the Spanish-American War. Roosevelt was increasingly confident of his ability to manage difficult assignments, thus placing more burdens on him. Taft became an expert in Far East affairs, traveling on fact-finding tours to Hawaii, Japan, China and the Philippines. While T.R. vacationed, Taft grappled with the problems of the Russo-Japanese War, the U.S. mediation in the Moroccan dispute, racial friction in Hawaii and disturbances in Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. Roosevelt was very satisfied with Taft's performance and congratulated him. "I think you are keeping the lid on in great shape" he said.

Taft was absent from the Capital more than any other cabinet member. He spent over two hundred and fifty-five days of his four-year tenure on special missions. Roosevelt finally suggested that Taft's half-brother, Charles, should financially back his trips to stop the rumors about the government spending too much money for his travel expenses.

On one of his many trips abroad, Taft went to the Vatican to negotiate with Pope Leo for the sale of Church lands in the Philippines. Nellie was elated at the prospect of European travel. The highlight of the trip was a Papal audience for Louisa, Nellie and the two oldest children, Bob and Helen. The Pope concluded the interview by giving Robert a blessing and asking about his future plans. The future senator replied that he intended to be Chief Justice of the United States. Thus, the third generation of the Taft family began to eye that exalted position.

In 1906 another Supreme Court appointment became available. T.R. offered Taft the position with the promise that if the Chief Justiceship became vacant while T.R. was still in the White House, Taft would get it.

A family friend asked Taft's son, Charlie, if his father was going to the Supreme Court and was told, "Nope."
"Why not?"

"Ma wants him to wait and be President," said Charles.

Taft later explained to T.R., "Nellie is bitterly opposed to my accepting the position,...she telephoned me this morning to say that if I did, I would make the greatest mistake of my life."

T.R. genuinely loved being president and would have gladly answered the call if the Republican Party had demanded he run again in 1908. Though he was a man of



many rash statements, there was one which T.R. grew to regret. On election night, 1904, after he defeated Alton B. Parker, T.R. announced, "Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." Years later T.R. said, "I would cut that hand off there (indicating his wrist) if I could have recalled that statement." Now with the 1908 elections approaching, Roosevelt must search for another candidate to carry on his policies.

Taft was not the only possible successor to T.R. Among the men that were considered presidential material by T.R. were Elihu Root, Secretary of State and former Secretary of War; Charles Evans Hughes, Progressive Governor of New York; Philander Chase Knox, Senator from Pennsylvania and former Attorney General; and 'Uncle Joe' Cannon, Speaker of the House.

Roosevelt would have preferred Root in the White



House than any other man now possible, stating I "...would walk on my hands and knees from the White House to the Capitol to see Root make President."

Root, however, was "not willing to pay the prices of the nomination."

T.R. then turned to his old friend and right arm, Taft. "Root," said T.R., "would make the best president but Taft the best candidate."

Realizing the problems which would face Taft as president, T.R. later said, "He's all right, he means well and he'll do his best, but he's weak. They'll get around him. They'll lean against him."

Political analysts feel national party conventions are best designed to select candidates who possess the qualities required for the presidency itself. The drive, determination, ability to bargain and compromise, sensitivity to public opinion and popular appeal make a great candidate and an exceptional president. However, these qualities can triumph only in a convention which is competitive. T.R. was such a popular figure in the party that he was virtually able to appoint Taft his successor. In imposing Taft on the party, T.R. helped nominate and elect a man who did not possess the qualities necessary for effective popular leadership.

In 1908 the Republicans held their convention in Chicago. Taft had his supporters there; T.R. and half-brother Charles, as well as 18 year old Bob Taft attending his first convention. Roosevelt's influence dominated the Chicago Colosseum, calling in many favors to help Taft win the nomination, because Taft himself had no such "markers" upon which to pull.

Charles Evans Hughes and William Howard Taft were front runners for the nomination. When it was Taft's turn to have his nominating speech given, the delegates

participated in a demonstration of loud cheers and marching. The delegation from Texas had an immense pair of pants on the end of a flag pole with a sign that read, "As pants the heart for cooling streams, so Texas pants for Taft." The roll was called and minutes later Taft won the nomination with 702 votes with 68 votes for Knox and 67 for Hughes.

At Taft's inaugural, thousands of spectators wore little cards that read, "Smile, Smile, Smile," for smiling was synonymous with Taft. In the inaugural parade, thirteen men from the Fat Men's Club of the Sixth Assembly District were to march—Taft being an honorary member of the club.

After the inauguration T.R. declared, "I've been full president right up to the end, which hardly any other president ever has been." With childish glee he said he did not abdicate completely; he picked Taft who he felt would "continue his policies."

Even as one administration ended and another began, T.R. wrote, "Dear Will, One closing legacy. Under no circumstances divide the battleship fleet between the Atlantic and Pacific prior to the finishing of the Panama Canal." There was no way Taft could live up to T.R.'s expectations. Taft embraced the status quo policies of conservative advisers who replaced the departing T.R.

In 1912 the breakup of this friendship would be felt all through the country when T.R. led the "Bull Moose" Party in an effort to regain his supremacy.

William Howard Taft represented a new breed of American statesmen. His knowledge of foreign countries, first-hand experience with other governments, his awareness of America's expanding power and his administrative skills were all assets. However, Taft abhorred politics. He wrote he did "not know much or care less about the way the game of politics is played."

Taft wished for peace and calm of a judicial career but it was Nellie and his brothers who forced him into the maelstrom of national politics. Taft had worked in T.R.'s giant shadow. He had never developed the knowledge or skills of a professional politician. He did not have the ability to develop the public or political support needed to maintain a viable government. Taft did not enjoy campaigning or party politics and said, "Politics, when I'm in it makes me sick."

Taft desired a judicial career and wanted to sit on the Supreme Court. He suffered greatly when, as president, he had to appoint another man to be Chief Justice, the one position he truly desired for himself.

Taft was finally appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1921 by President Harding. Taft had insisted on waiting until the Chief Justice's position was vacant, because he felt that was the only position an ex-president should fill.

Taft neither wanted nor enjoyed the Presidency; the happiest years of his life were those he spent on the Supreme Court from 1921 to 1930. "Presidents come and go," he once said, "but the Court goes on forever."★



Celluloid CDV Album Cover



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

THE LIGHTER SIDE

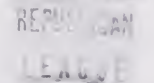
By Paul F. Boller, Jr.

Excerpted from *Presidential Anecdotes*,
Oxford University Press, 1981

Taft simply was not a good politician. He was careless about names, for one thing. When he headed the War Department, he saw eight reporters just about every day; but for all of his affability and jolly good nature he never learned any of their names or the names of the newspapers they represented. One day Colonel W. R. Nelson, owner of the *Kansas City Star*, came to Washington on business and had occasion to see Taft. During the conversation he mentioned Dick Lindsay. "Lindsay?" said Taft blankly. "Dick Lindsay? Who's he?" said Nelson, dumbfounded, "he's my Washington correspondent. I understand from him that he comes in to see you every day. Don't you know him?" "Never heard of the name," said Taft frankly. Later, after Lindsay succeeded in convincing Nelson that he had not been malingering and actually did see the Secretary of War every day, the *Star* proprietor returned home with his liking for Taft considerably diminished. Lindsay, for his part, went to Taft's office the next day, pounded on the desk, and cried: "Take a good look at me, will you, Mr. Secretary? I want you to be able to remember what I look like, so that the next time you talk to my boss you will be able to describe me. I'm Lindsay, of the *Kansas City Star*!" Highly amused, Taft pounded his fists on the arms of his chair and roared. But he never did get to know the names of the other seven reporters.

The contrast with TR, when it came to names, was striking. One reporter had occasion to see both men in

action in 1912. At a reception for Roosevelt in Wyoming (just before TR threw his hat in the ring again), the reporter, seeing a great admirer of the Rough Rider approaching, asked TR in a low voice whether he remembered the man. "No," TR whispered back, "I can't recall him." "He's been at the White House and lunched with you," said the reporter. "His name is Watson." "Oh yes," said TR. "I know who he is now. How many children has he?" "Five, no, he has six—another was born just a few days ago." When Watson reached Roosevelt, the latter grasped both his hands, pumped them heartily up and down, and exclaimed, "My dear fellow, I'm so glad to see you again. I shall never forget the delightful hour we spent together in Washington. How are those five, oh no, I believe you have six children now?" Watson (who was a popular and influential figure in Wyoming politics) left happy and smiling; and when TR tried for a third term in 1912 he supported him enthusiastically. A few months later, the same correspondent went to Seattle with Taft and stood by his side as the reception line moved along. At one point he recognized an old Taft admirer approaching and quickly whispered, "Mr. President, there's a man approaching whom you certainly remember?" "No, I don't," said Taft. "What's his name?" The reporter told him. Taft repeated it reflectively and then said, "No, I don't seem to place him." When the man's turn came, Taft took his hand in a friendly way and beamed on him as he



said, "They tell me I ought to remember you, but bless my soul, I cannot recall you at all." Extremely irritated the man, a prominent politician in the state of Washington, left the reception determined not to support Taft in the campaign.

Taft was tactless as well as forgetful. He hurt the feelings of TR, his best friend and heartiest supporter, shortly after his election as President in November 1908. TR had chosen Taft to succeed him in the White House and during the campaign had watched over him carefully and given him sage advice on politics. Taft's brother, Charles P., had managed finances for the campaign, but it was really TR who made Taft the nominee and got him elected. Yet after the election, Taft told TR, "I owe a great deal to you, Theodore, and I want to take this opportunity of saying so." TR nodded expectantly, and Taft continued: "Yes, in thinking over the whole campaign I am bound to say that I owe my election more to you than to anybody else, *except my brother Charley.*" Somewhat miffed, TR grumbled afterward: "He puts money above brains." A little later Taft again displayed his genius for

saying the wrong thing. When a reporter, referring to the hard times following the Panic of 1907, asked him what would be the outcome of high unemployment, Taft answered resignedly, "God knows!" All he meant was that Taft didn't know; but the remark was spread far and wide, and in cold print it seemed to reveal a heartless indifference toward people out of work. For a long time afterward, working people called him "God-knows Taft."

Carelessness about names and tactless remarks did not of course destroy Taft's Presidency. His accomplishments during four years in office were modest but respectable: establishing the parcel-post and postal-savings services, creating the Department of Labor, extending the civil service, launching more antitrust suits than Roosevelt (without in any way checking the inexorable movement toward consolidation of American industry), and continuing TR's campaign to conserve America's natural resources. But it can hardly be said that Taft made much of a mark on the course of events here or abroad. He was too easygoing and conservative, moreover, to generate much popular excitement, while his administration seemed





dull when compared to that of the frenetic TR. Most people, including Taft himself, were happy to see him leave the White House in 1913.

Taft's size may have had something to do with his style. Tall and heavy (though well-proportioned), he was the biggest man ever to occupy the White House. He weighed between 300 and 350 pounds most of the time and had to have a special bathtub constructed for him when he took up residence in the White House. Once, when he was Governor-General of the Philippines, he cabled Secretary of War Elihu Root from Manila, "Took long horseback ride today; feeling fine." Root at once cabled back: "How is the horse?" When he visited the Panama Canal, shortly after its completion, his engineer host saw fit to reinforce a dining-room chair with steel. Taft was grateful; it gave him a great feeling of security, he said, during his visit. He was, people said, the politest man in Washington: on street-cars he would rise and give his place to three women. One day, according to a popular story, he decided to go swimming at Beverly Bay, Massachusetts, donned one of the largest bathing suits ever manufactured, and plunged into the water. Shortly afterward, one of his neighbors suggested to a friend that they go bathing. "Perhaps we'd better wait," said the friend cautiously.

"The President is using the ocean."

Perhaps because of his weight, "Big Bill" Taft was essentially lazy; he had a way of dozing off during conferences, Cabinet meetings, White House dinners, and on public occasions, to the great embarrassment of his friends and aides. After one White House dinner for Cabinet members, Taft called for some music on the Victrola but fell sound asleep during the first selection. When he woke up, he called for the "Prize Song" from *Die Meistersinger*, but fell asleep again before the record could be put on. His Attorney General, George W. Wickersham, then impishly suggested the sextet from *Lucia di Lammermoor*, since "it will awake anyone but a dead man." But it failed to rouse Taft, and Wickersham sighed: "He must be dead." On another occasion Taft fell asleep during a funeral at which he was a front-row mourner. And once he was deep in sleep during a campaign tour of New York City in an open car.

Taft was badly defeated when he ran for re-election in 1912. Of the three candidates—Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft himself—he got the fewest votes. But he was philosophical about his defeat. "I have one consolation," he reflected after the returns were in. "No one candidate was ever elected ex-President by such a large majority."★



The Hopefuls of 1908 and 1912

By Robert A. Cutter

The political years associated with William Howard Taft were nothing if not unpredictable. His friend and political mentor, Theodore Roosevelt, had smashed Alton B. Parker and the conservative, gold Democrats in 1904 and four years later could have had a second elected term for the asking.

Instead, Roosevelt had chosen to regard 1904 as his "second" term and an end to his Presidential prospects because Americans still opposed a third term. In his place T.R. anointed Taft, an unwilling candidate whose ultimate dream was to serve as Chief Justice, not President.

Taft, however, was not Teddie's first choice. Rather he first considered his Secretary of State, Elihu Root of New York, but soon realized that Root presented some problems.

One was his age, 63, compared to T.R.'s own 49 years (Taft was 50). Another was his cautious, ultraconservative approach, which contrasted vividly to Roosevelt's own blend of conservatism and progressivism. Root's health also was questionable (though the man outlived both T.R. and Taft, not dying until 1937, 18 years after Roosevelt and seven after Taft) as were his Wall Street connections, built during a lucrative career as a corporate lawyer.

So in March, 1907, for better or worse, Roosevelt anointed William Howard Taft as his successor, and using Presidential power in a way that today would have the press and Congress in an uproar, built up Taft's delegate strength.

If you held a Federal office and were going to be a convention delegate, you had better be for Taft or else. Ninety-seven of 125 Federal officeholder-delegates held on to their jobs by declaring for Taft; others didn't declare or came out for others and were fired.

No less than 128 Southern delegates of 194 possible lined up, so did 20 of 60 Republican Senators, local officeholders, and many others heading for Chicago in June.

The wonder was that, in the face of this steamroller, and this is where the unpolitical Taft learned how to win renomination four years later, that there were any other Republican hopefuls . . . but there were. Fifteen in all.

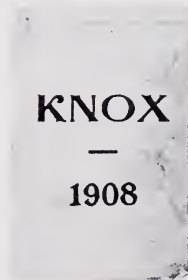
Root continued his quest and was joined by four other conservatives:

- Vice President Charles A. Fairbanks of Indiana would be out of a job as Taft needed an Easterner for the second spot. Fairbanks collected only 30 votes at the convention.

- Leslie M. Shaw (who, you say?), T.R.'s Treasury Secretary, was a Vermonter transplanted to Iowa, where he had been a two-term Governor, but had no national recognition.

- Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, a Senator whose career would end in 1909 after exposure of his dealings with

FAIRBANKS





William Warner

Standard Oil while in office, had had Presidential hopes thrice before (1888, 1900 and 1904), so losing was nothing new for him. Still 16 delegates were brave enough to vote for him on the only convention ballot.

- Philander C. Knox was the most formidable conservative of them all. T.R.'s first-term Attorney General now was a powerful Senator from Pennsylvania. He would receive his state's 68 Favorite-Son votes to finish a distant second to Taft's 702.

The Republicans also had three true progressive hopefuls in 1908:

- Albert C. Beveridge, an Indiana lawyer, was on the second of five tries for the White House. A Senator since 1899, he would be offered the Vice Presidency by Taft and decline.

- Albert B. Cummins of Indiana was getting his feet wet for the first time as a hopeful. He would do better eight years later.

- Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., the very definition of "progressive" at this point in his career had served in the House for seven years, and the Wisconsin lawyer had four more tries for the Presidency ahead of him, including his third-party run in 1924. In 1908 he was a Favorite Son who would receive 25 of his state's 26 only-ballot votes.

The "moderate" forces boasted one candidate:

- Charles Evans Hughes would be a four-time hopeful, in addition to his 1916 Republican nomination. In 1908 much of his career as Supreme Court justice and Chief Justice and Secretary of State still lay ahead. Now he was a well-regarded New York educator who had been elected as a reform governor a year before. He would win 67 delegate votes at the convention.

In retrospect, historians also have identified one man as the "reactionary" candidate:

- Joseph G. Cannon began in the House in 1873 and, with the exception of two terms, would remain there until 1913, serving as Speaker from 1903 to 1911. Illinois' Favorite-Son votes served to give him a base for a 58-vote convention total. Back in 1888 he had been a Vice Presidential hopeful.

There were five other potential Republican hopefuls:

- George B. Corteyou had started as a stenographer, then secretary to Grover Cleveland, who recommended him to William McKinley. Roosevelt saw more in the man and made Corteyou his Secretary of Commerce & Labor (before the job was split), Postmaster General, finally Secretary of the Treasury. In 1904, he had been T.R.'s campaign manager, but running yourself was different. Though Corteyou probably was thinking of the Vice Presidency more than the top spot, he was an early dropout.

- Stephen B. Elkins had adopted West Virginia as his home in 1890 after New Mexico, but the lawyer, mine operator and railroad executive, while highly regarded enough to be mentioned as a hopeful four times since 1896, was having his last, unsuccessful shot even after stints as Secretary of War and U.S. Senator since 1895.

- William Warner of Missouri had no chance despite a year as Kansas City mayor, two terms in the House and a Missouri Senator's chair since 1905.

- Thomas E. Jones, of whom nothing is known.

- Edward W. Carmack, a Tennessee lawyer and two-term Congressman, was on a decidedly negative roll. He had been beaten in the Senatorial primary in 1906, was in the process of losing for Governor, had no chance for the White House, and, on election day itself, would be assassinated!

- The last Republican hopeful was, of course, T.R., who despite his announced non-candidacy, still had supporters, including one diehard who cast a lone Roosevelt vote at the convention.

Nor was the Democrat situation any different. With the defeat of Parker and the conservatives, party leadership had returned to the two-time "radical" loser, William Jennings Bryan.

As usual, Bryan liked to be coy about his nomination and issued a list of men he thought best for the nomination:

- Joseph W. Bailey, a Texas lawyer, had been a Senator since 1901, but had little else to recommend him.

- William Randolph Hearst of New York had run second to Parker in 1904, but been defeated twice for New York City mayor and once for Governor. He was unacceptable to many real Democrats, and would eventually align himself (and his newspaper chain) with the Republicans.

Bryan didn't mention another four on his list, but these were considered real hopefuls by party regulars.

- Joseph W. Folk, a Tennessee-born lawyer, would move to Missouri and become an outstanding reformer. He was elected to the Senate in 1905, and would try again for President in 1912.

- George Gray, Delaware's Favorite Son, received 12 votes in 1904, would garner 59% in 1908, after 14 years as a Senator and a US Circuit Court of Appeals judgeship since 1899.

- John A. Johnson was a man who could meet Bryan on equal terms as an orator and was tall, dark and handsome. Elected Minnesota's Governor in 1904, he received 46 votes in 1908, obviously was headed for bigger things when he died at age 48 a year later.

- Thomas Woodrow Wilson, a Virginia-born educator serving as Princeton University's president since 1902, was a highly regarded political scientist, but relatively unknown in 1908. Four years later, after a smashing victory for the New Jersey Governorship in 1910, he would capture the Presidency.

Then there were 10 other Democrats who had been bitten by the Presidential bug in 1908:

- Augustus O. Bacon was a Georgia lawyer and Senator since 1895.

- Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, a Hearst associate from New York, had served as Lieutenant Governor in 1906-08, would lose a bid for the Governorship in 1908 and drop out of politics at age 39. Theoretically he was his state's Favorite Son.

- William G. Conrad of Montana was in the race to become known enough to win the Vice Presidency. He had been beaten both for Governor and Senator, but the Democrats seemed to love losers.

- Edgar M. Cullen was in the later stages of a 34-year career on New York State's Supreme Court.

- John W. Daniel, an 1896 Vice Presidential hopeful, was a Virginia lawyer and crippled Confederate veteran who had served two years in the House and was on his third term as Senator.

- John J. Douglass, a Massachusetts lawyer and playwright, had never been anything more than a State Legislator, but anyone could be President, right?

- Melville W. Fuller of Illinois, on the other hand, had been on the US Supreme Court since 1895, but at 75 was a year away from death. He had hoped for the Presidency once before, in 1888.

- Judson Harmon was in the middle of three Presiden-



Items shown in this article are not sized in proportion. Buttons under 1 1/4" are not reduced, and are marked *, others are 65% of actual size.

tial bids. The Ohio lawyer had been Cleveland's Attorney General.

- Edward D. White also was a Supreme Court justice who would go on to the Chief Justice post in 1910, but had little chance for the White House from his Louisiana base.

- John Sharp Williams also suffered from small-state status. The Mississippi lawyer and cotton grower would get 44 Favorite-Son votes in 1920, but in 1908 he got nothing, despite his long House career, which would be followed by an equally long one in the Senate.

The choice of Bryan would come as no surprise. And, as Wilson-booster Col. George Harvey of New York put it: "The Democrats will now resume their customary occupation of electing a Republican President!"

Perhaps the fever was catching. In 1912, it was the Republicans who tore themselves apart in the Taft-T.R. battle to ensure a Democrat victory, and many of the hopeful characters on both sides were familiar.

As usual the Republican field was smaller, again facing a Taft steamroller that successfully would hold off T.R.'s convention challenge. Of 10 Republican hopefuls, besides Roosevelt, six were carry-overs from 1908:

- Beveridge
- Cummins
- Hughes
- Knox
- LaFollette
- Warner

The four new contenders scarcely bothered Taft's machine.

- Henry D. Estabrook of Nebraska hoped lightning would strike twice, 1912 and 1916, even going the primary route in the latter year in Nebraska and North Dakota. But he would remain merely a footnote.

- Myron T. Herrick was making the first of three successive Presidential bids. The Ohio banker and railroad executive had been a highly regarded Governor in 1904-06, but not nationally regarded.

- William S. Kenyon was even less known after one year in the Senate, representing Iowa. At least three times more, he would announce his availability, but America never called.

- Gifford Pinchot, on the other hand, was nationally known — as a conservationist. He was, in fact, US Chief Forester from 1901 to 1910. A Pennsylvanian, he would go on to hold the highest state offices, but not national.

Taft brushed them all aside — LaFollette getting 41 votes, Cummins 17, Hughes 2 on the only convention ballot. Roosevelt, of course, went off and started his own party.

The lucky Democrat in 1912 was the 1908 hopeful, Wilson, who came back like two others:

- Folk
- Harmon

But there were no less than 16 other hopefuls, now that Bryan — thrice beaten and a declared non-candidate (though still issuing lists of potential Presidents) was gone:

- Simeon Baldwin of Connecticut, founder of the American Bar Association, was his state's Favorite Son, which formed the base of his 44 first-ballot votes.

- John Burke of North Dakota hoped for the Vice Presidency through his hopeful status, and the two-term Governor won an unopposed primary, but no convention votes.

- Champ Clark — James Beauchamp Clark, that is — had convention support on 45 of the 46 roll-calls in 1912, from 440+ leader votes on the first ballot to 84 loser votes on the last (he had 330 for second place on the 45th and last real ballot). The Missouri House Speaker hoped again in 1916 and 1920, but never got closer than in 1912.

- Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts, a manufacturer and real estate speculator, served a term in the House 1910-11, then was elected Governor in 1911. He came to the convention as a Favorite Son and lasted 28 of the 46 ballots, his high being 45 votes on the 23rd ballot.

- William J. Gaynor of New York also was a Favorite Son, but managed only one diehard vote on six scattered ballots. A judge and reformer, he proved an able administrator as New York's mayor 1910-13, when he died as a result of earlier wounds from an unsuccessful assassination attempt. His known condition perhaps was why he received little support.

- Ollie James of Kentucky, a 10-year House member, actually received a vote or three on three of the 46 ballots, perhaps justifying his place on a pre-race Bryan list of good candidates.

- William Travers Jerome, the Manhattan District Attorney (like Tom Dewey in 1940), had early been thought of as Presidential timber for 1912, following a gubernatorial victory in 1906 . . . which never came, because Hearst had beaten him for that nomination. The Jerome boom never rose again, though the idea of a Winston Churchill relative (through mother Jenny Jerome, an aunt of William T.) is intriguing.

- John W. Kern of Indiana was again trying to prove his party loved losers. He had been beaten successively for Governor in 1900 and 1904 and Vice President in 1908. Even the Democrats couldn't see his 1912 candidacy.

- James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, another off Bryan's list, was making the first of three bids (others in 1920 and 1932) and got one vote on the 42nd ballot for his trouble.

- Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana got half a loaf — Vice President — in 1912 and hoped again in 1920 and 1924 without success. But Indiana's Favorite Son probably let the chance slip away when he let Mrs. Wilson take charge in the waning months of Wilson's second term rather than asserting himself.

- James A. O'Gorman was on Bryan's list, too, but couldn't even win Temporary Chairmanship of the convention. The New York jurist and one-term Senator wasn't a factor despite his potentially powerful state base.

- A. Mitchell Palmer, A Pennsylvania lawyer and Senator, who would go on to Attorney General, Red-hunting and a serious 1920 bid, was another Favorite Son who got nothing in 1912.

- Isidor Rayner of Maryland also made Bryan's list. On paper he looked good — state legislator, Congressman, state attorney general, US Senator - but no one cheered.
- George S. Sulzer was New Jersey's Favorite Son in 1924 and a Vice Presidential hopeful this time, trying the Presidential hopeful route. It led nowhere.
- William J. Stone was the last of Bryan's listed potential candidates. The Missouri lawyer had been congressman, governor and senator, but it was journey's end politically.
- William Sulzer of New York got two votes on two ballots, but his fame lay elsewhere. Tammany's choice for New York Governor would be elected, try to run a clean government, and be impeached after 10 months. Later, he would be a 1916 Presidential hopeful for both the Populist and American Parties.
- Oscar W. Underwood was the last of 1912's Democrat hopefuls, but one of the more memorable. He would be a contender for 30 ballots and last through 45. He would

return in 1920 and especially 1924, but never capture the Presidency.

Those who think the Taft years uninteresting haven't scratched below the surface. Buttons and other Presidential materials exist for 30 of these hopefuls and possible materials (name pins for example) for eight more.

And then there are items like the aluminum token that reads:

1912
Take Your Pick:
Harmonious Judson
Wouldrow Wilson
3x16 to 1 Bryan
?
1912
Who Gets It?
O-Hi-O! Bill Taft
Oyster B. Roosevelt
Wis(e) Pomp.LaFollette
?



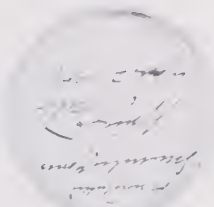
Pennant



China Plates and Toby Mug



Unusual Taft Items



Campaign Button containing reversed paper autographed by the candidate



A Pair of "Billy" Goats



T-ake
A-dvice
F-rom
T-eddy



Steamroller



Canal Zone

Note: * Buttons shown actual size



Large Tapestry



Oklahoma

Mullhall
"TAFT"
AND
MCGUIRE
CLUB"
FOR
Joe
Norris
for anything
he wants

Woven Ribbon

THIRD PARTIES

1908 ★ 1912

By Robert Cutter

William Howard Taft responsible for third-parties? A defensible premise if one remembers that it was Taft's control of the Republican Party machinery that forced Theodore Roosevelt to create his personal party, the 1912 Progressive Bull Moosers.

And it was Taft's conservative image that made several third parties more attractive to workingmen, farmers and other groups that felt unrepresented or even ignored in the two major parties.

The Socialists had their own charismatic leader in Eugene Victor Debs of Indiana, who had headed the 1900 and 1904 Socialist tickets (and lost). But under Debs, Socialism seemed to be growing and certainly more familiar to the electorate. In 1908, Debs was chosen a third time, with New York's Benjamin Hanford as his running mate.

There were other prominent Socialists at least considered.

- James E. Carey of Massachusetts, a shoemaker and labor organizer, had been the first Socialist public official in his state when elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1898.

- William D. Haywood of Utah, another labor organizer, was in prison, accused of complicity in a 1907 bombing against Idaho's Governor. Eventually he would be acquitted.

- Algic M. Simons of Illinois had been born in Wisconsin before moving to a Chicago newspaper job. His pen was his mightiest sword.

- Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin was a clergyman and state legislator, who later would return to the Democrat fold.

In the end, Debs was the choice for a third time, and he would push the November tally to 420,380 votes, or 2.82% of the national total. Using his "Red Special" train, Debs campaigned in 350 cities in three months. The expectations for a million votes went unrealized not because of any Debs failure, but rather the disaffection of Middle and Far West Socialists with the Eastern wing.

Small wonder that in 1912, despite bids by two others, Debs would receive his fourth nomination and lead the Socialists to their highpoint — 900,369 votes — 5.99% of the total vote cast.

Did he do it alone, or would one of the other two hopefuls have done as well?

- Charles E. Russell of New York, another newspaperman, had been beaten in his bid for the Governorship in 1910, would lose again in 1912 for the same office and lose for New York City mayor in 1913 and U.S. Senator in 1914. In 1916, he would be offered the Socialist Presidential nomination and decline.

- Emil Seidel of Wisconsin, a woodcarver and founder of that craft's union in 1904, was a perennial Milwaukee mayoral candidate who would lose in 1908, 1912 and 1916, but win in 1910. He did get the Vice Presidential nomination and probably helped build that highpoint total with Debs.

As the Socialist Party rose, the Prohibitionist started to slide. In 1908 a long list of men vied for its Presidential nomination:

- Alfred Manierre of New York had lost a mayoral bid in 1900, would again in 1909. He also had been beaten for Governor in 1902, but he was a dedicated man whose son also would be a New York Prohibitionist candidate in the next generation.

- William B. Palmore of Missouri, a clergyman, editor and publisher, was popular enough to be offered the Vice Presidency, but he declined.

- Robert H. Patton of Illinois was being considered for the first of three times for Prohibition presidential candidate. Each time (others 1912 and 1924), he would be the first choice of the convention, but decline the honor. Perhaps his losses in running for the House in 1900 and for Governor in 1904 had soured him on candidacy politics.

- Charles Scanlon of Minnesota, another clergyman, also was a gubernatorial loser in 1902.

- Daniel Robinson Sheen of Illinois, a Democrat until 1878, had lost a Senatorial bid.

- G. R. Stuart of Vermont was, and is, virtually unknown.

- Oliver W. Stewart of Illinois, who would hope for the nomination in both 1908 and 1912, had lost bids for Representative and Chicago mayor in 1890 and 1905 respectively.

- Joseph P. Tracy of Minnesota (whose buttons have survived, unlike so many others), was and is a shadowy figure.

- Frederick F. Wheeler was a California realtor and businessman.

- Seaborn Wright of Georgia is another unknown.

In the end, the Prohibitionists chose — in both 1908 and 1912 — Eugene W. Chafin of Illinois and Arizona, a Wisconsin-born lawyer, lecturer.

Unfortunately, Chafin, while energetic, was a loser: for Congress in 1882 (WI) and 1902 (IL), for state attorney general in 1886, 1900 (WI) and 1904 (IL), and for Governor 1898 (WI). He lost both Presidential races, of course, to keep his record unblemished, moving to Arizona (the man really believed in a dry state) in 1909, later to California.

In both races, the Prohibitionists would choose for Vice President Aaron Watkins of Ohio, a clergyman, who



would lose for Governor in 1905, 1908 and 1932, both VP races and, in 1920, for President on the Prohibitionist ticket.

The party's returns were starting to shrink, from 252,821 and 1.7% of the total vote in 1908, to about 208,000 and 1.38% in 1912. This decline was all the more disheartening because Chafin had been an energetic campaigner in 1908, appearing in 28 states, speaking out not only on prohibition, but women's suffrage, direct election of U.S. Senators and graduated income and inheritance taxes. He was only slightly less energetic in 1912.

In the latter year, there were seven other Presidential hopefuls considered, Patton, Oliver Stewart, Watkins, and:

- F. Emerson of California, a shadowy figure.
- Finley Hendrickson of Maryland (who also would hope in 1916), a lawyer, Constitutional expert and water supply company president.
- Andrew Jackson Houston of Texas, a lawyer who had been a U.S. Marshal from 1901 to 1910 and lost gubernatorial races in 1910 and 1912.
- Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who wouldn't even consider a nomination by this party.

The tiny Socialist Labor Party drew a mere 29,000 votes (.2%) in 1912 after winning but 14,000 votes (.09%) in 1908, but at least it was going up. Both times it offered a ticket that included August Gillhaus of New York — for President in 1908, for VP in 1912 (although some say John M. Francis had that honor).

Donald Munro of Virginia had the second spot in 1908, Arthur Reimer of Massachusetts the top row in 1912. Francis John Francis is known to have sought the Presidential nod in 1912, but like so many of these men, remains a shadowy figure.

In 1908, the People's or Populist Party ran Tom Watson of Georgia with Samuel Williams of Indiana, the latter a hopeful for the top spot before receiving the Vice Presidential nomination. It was the last time the party would

run, and it received just 28,000 votes or .19% of the 1908 total.

Even smaller that year was the United Christian Party with a ticket of Daniel Turney of Illinois and Lorenzo Coffin of Iowa. The pair received 400 Illinois votes and 61 in Michigan.

Next to the Socialists, 1908's biggest third-party was a William Randolph Hearst creation, the Independence Party of New York, which went national with Theodore Higen of Alabama and John Temple Graves of Georgia.

In addition to Higen, there were five Independent Party hopefuls in 1908:

- Michael A. Fitzgerald of New York had lost a Congressional race in 1906 and would lose again for the House in 1912.
- Graves, a writer and lecturer, who had lost a 1905 bid for U.S. Senator.
- Hearst.
- Milford W. Howard of Alabama, a lawyer and utility expert, had served in the House 1895-99. In 1900, he had been a People's Party hopeful for President.
- Reuben R. Lyon of New York, still another man lost to history.

The Independence Party garnered but 83,000 votes (.55%), and disappeared when Hearst withdrew his support.

In 1912, the People's Party was almost extinct and tried to revive itself by offering its nomination to Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, but he was having none of it, for he was one of two supposed hopefuls for a new Progressive Party.

Three names dominated pre-convention Progressive planning, LaFollette, Pinchot, and Roosevelt.

The Roosevelt run in 1912 is too familiar to require lengthy discussion here. Suffice it to say that Taft committed political hari-kari and took the Republicans with him by completely ignoring the will of the party and the people at large.

T.R. won nine of the 12 Republican primaries, LaFollette two, including his home state, and Taft one (Massachusetts). Roosevelt won 51.5% of the total primary vote, Taft barely a third, despite effectively controlling all party machinery.

Taft was more decisive in the convention, seating his delegates and denying duly elected Roosevelt delegates their seats. He won 556-107, with 348 delegates refusing to vote in the rigged proceedings.

Small wonder that Roosevelt proceeded to accept a third-party nomination, hoping he could still win, but all that was accomplished was election of Woodrow Wilson with but 41.84% of the total vote. More than half the electorate voted Roosevelt and Taft, with Eugene Debs receiving 6% of the count.

The third parties of 1908-12 were not decisive in a sense of numbers, but their energies brought many to the polling places who might not otherwise have come. And many of the advanced ideas they espoused, so radical at that moment, became part of the American political mainstream in the years ahead, and enriched all our lives.★

“VOTE AS YOU SHOT”

GENERAL GRANT’S LAST CAMPAIGN

By John Pfeifer

On March 5, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes was sworn in as the 19th President of the United States. His election was the result of what is generally considered to be the most fraudulent in American history. While the corruption in the carpetbag governments of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina made the Republican electoral victory possible, the new president lost no time in keeping his promise to remove federal troops from the South. As a consequence, Republican administrators were ousted, and Bourbon Democrats quickly installed in their places. To the regular Republican Stalwarts as well as the more moderate followers of James G. Blaine, this action on the part of the president was nothing less than treason to the Grand Old Party! Hayes further antagonized party spoils-men by initiating sweeping reforms in civil service and refusing to respond to Stalwart pressure to appoint cronies of Boss Roscoe Conkling to key State Department positions. The real issue at stake was the control of federal appointments, and Conkling was determined to see that the long-established system of “senatorial courtesy” was upheld. In practice, this meant that the chief executive usually acceded to the wishes of senators with regard to appointments in their own states. The final break between the president and the Conkling Cabal came in the summer of 1877 when John Sherman, acting for Hayes, appointed a commission to investigate the customhouse service in New York. The commission found abuses directly related to the collector of customs, Chester A. Arthur, and the chief naval officer, Alonzo Cornell, both members of the Conkling machine. Hayes was successful in gaining Senate confirmation of new appointees, and the stage was set for a war to the death between “Lord Roscoe” and the president he contemptuously called “Granny Hayes” and his “snivel-service”.

For some time Conkling had been secretly conspiring with Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania and John A. Logan of Illinois to engineer the “restoration” of President Grant and the renewal of Stalwart control of government offices and all the spoils that went with it. As the election year of 1880 came into view, President Hayes made very clear his desire to retire from public office, focusing all attention on the three serious contenders for the Republican nomination: Senator Blaine, Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, and the darling of the old guard, U.S. Grant.

The unwritten law forbidding a third term weighed heavily upon the preparations of the Grant forces. For this reason, the Stalwart bosses who proposed to rule the country again under his leadership had been making plans for his renomination long in advance of the expected war at the Chicago Convention. During his retirement, supporters had advised Grant to go abroad and remain aloof from the party struggles taking place at home. If Grant

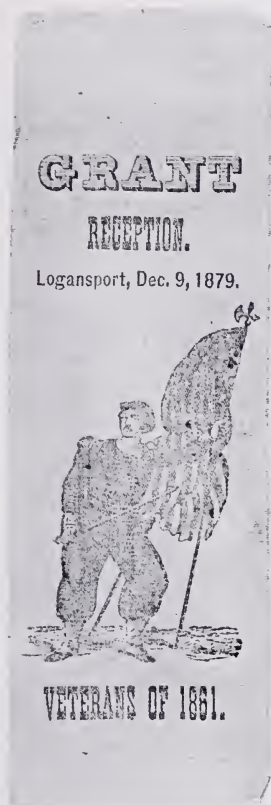
would only let him, Conkling was determined to see the General safely tucked away in the White House one more time. Heeding the advice of his closest advisors and nurturing a desire to return to power, Grant agreed, and for twenty-six months toured the world, the object of unprecedented hero worship at every stop along the way. The American press, especially Gordon Bennett’s *New York Herald*, kept the American public fully informed of the “Hero of Appomattox” and his triumphant tour of the world’s capitol. Even an occasional slight to a crowned head and a casual remark that Venice would be a pretty city if only it could be drained, provided a good natured laugh back home and did little to dampen the fires of enthusiasm that engulfed his rabid supporters. When news of the great railroad strikes reached Grant in England he remarked, half hopefully, that what America needed was a strong man and that he felt he might be called back by the gravity of the emergency. The longer he stayed away from the United States, the better he looked to the demoralized Grand Old Party. Republicans found it easy to forget his faults, and old memories of former scandals in his administration dimmed in the light of this new glow that surrounded him. Conkling and Logan swung their delegations behind the General, and in Pennsylvania J. Donald Cameron took the reins of power from his father and bullied his state into line. Grant’s managers in the South and the Mountain states were also busy gathering delegate support, and on the eve of the convention had 310 first ballot votes, only 68 short of nomination.

Conkling’s plan had always been to keep Grant safely away from the scrutiny of an unfriendly press until just before the convention opened, when he could spring the old campaigner upon a delegation weary of constant infighting and party disunity. Much to the horror of his manager Conkling, it was learned that Mrs. Grant was suffering from a severe case of home-sickness and was pressuring the General to return to the United States much sooner than planned. Letter after letter from Conkling begging him to delay his return did little to dissuade him. In September of 1879, he landed in San Francisco, a full eight months before the opening of the Republican nominating convention.

Having failed to keep Grant out of the country as planned, Conkling strongly suggested to him that he make his way to the East coast very slowly, taking every opportunity to stop and speak before the voters at “every city and hamlet” along his proposed route home. The result was a slow triumphal procession across the country with one formal reception after another to honor the former president.

Fortunately for collectors of 19th Century political artifacts, the local marching clubs and organizers of these

numerous receptions saw fit to have a wide assortment of ribbons and badges made to order as souvenirs to remember the day the "savior of our country" honored their city with his presence. The following account and accompanying ribbon are illustrative of one such occasion in a small midwestern town.



"Dark menacing clouds threatened to washout the gala celebration scheduled for today but undaunted by anything as trivial as a little bad weather, the citizens of Logansport, Indiana had begun arriving at the train station early in the morning in hopes of getting a glimpse of a genuine American hero and former president of the United States, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. The official party departed from Chicago early that December morning for the leisurely 116 mile trip to the sleepy little community nestled along the banks of the Wabash River. When the train pulled into the station at 11:15 hundreds of Hoosiers accompanied by the Logansport Grays marching club, lined both sides of the track. Rain had begun to fall as General Grant emerged from his private car, waved to the crowd and entered a carriage to lead a procession to the Murdock

House where Mayor Jacobs was scheduled to welcome him to Indiana. A number of very striking decorations could be seen along the parade route to the downtown hotel, highlighted by a large arch erected over Market Street bearing the inscription 'Welcome to Logansport' with each letter of the massive greeting encircled by a wreath of evergreens. At the Murdock House another arch spanned Broadway bearing the motto, 'From Bellmont to Appomattox'. Several thousand citizens had gathered on the grounds where a platform had been hastily erected in front of the hotel. When the official party had all settled into their seats on the stand, Mayor Jacobs stepped forward to deliver his welcoming speech. Having extended the key to the city to General Grant the mayor had just begun his oration when the sound of cracking and popping could be heard coming from beneath the structure and before anyone could give warning the entire floor of the platform gave way and crashed six feet to the ground below. The General and the mayor as well as all the assembled dignitaries were sent sprawling in every direction. Without a moment's hesitation, Mayor Jacobs helped the startled former president to his feet and both scrambled up the front balustrade of the wrecked reviewing stand amid the cheers of everyone assembled. No one had been seriously injured, and within a short time order was restored and the mayor continued his speech from the point where he had been interrupted. When Grant stepped forward to speak, a hush fell over the throng, and before he had spoken more than a few words the remaining supports broke loose threatening once again to send the old warrior plummeting to the pavement. With his usual 'cool under fire', the General held firmly to the broken railing and continued to speak as if nothing had happened.

'Mr. Mayor and gentlemen of Logansport, my return to America has afforded me great gratification and the reception I have received at every port since landing on the shores of my own country up to my arrival at Logansport has been a greeting most gracious to me. I assure you that in all my travels and in all that I've seen, I have seen nothing to diminish my love, my admiration for my countrymen. We have in this grand country of ours a great deal to be proud of and something that makes us even prouder as we see more of other nations of the earth and are able to contrast our great resources with those of others. Honored Gentlemen, I thank you, Mr. Mayor. I thank you.'

Following the public speeches and the unexpected excitement, an elegant dinner was served at the Murdock House for over one hundred guests. Unfortunately, due in part to the accident, very little time remained in a very tight schedule, giving the General only a few moments for refreshment before the carriage bearing Colonel Holloway, local commander of the

Union Veteran's Association, arrived to convey Grant's party to the depot where the train waited to carry them to their next stop in Indianapolis."

If the reception in Logansport was indicative of the love and admiration the common folk felt for General Grant,

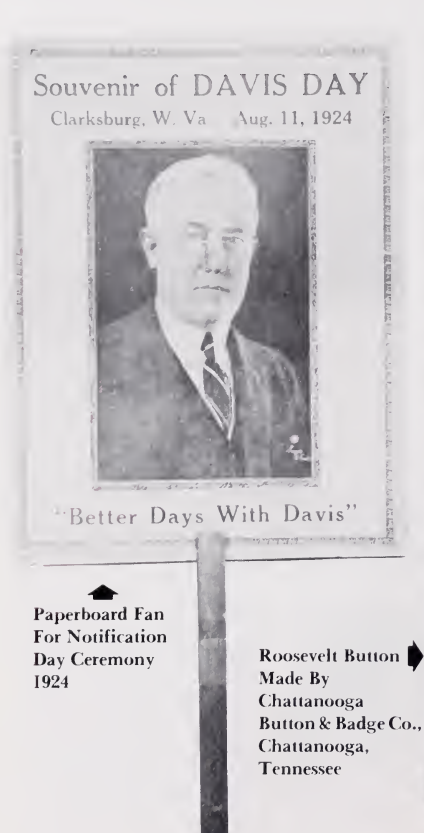
and if the Republican Convention had met in January instead of eight months later, the entire nominating process could have been merely a prelude to an historic 3rd term. For all his faults, Roscoe Conkling was an astute campaign manager, and if Grant had listened to him, the General's return might well have been the decisive factor at the convention that Conkling had intended it to be. Instead Grant's early return enabled his enemies to focus attention on the catastrophies of his previous tenure in office.

Poor timing effectively reduced the desired impact of his triumphal receptions, giving his opponents time to organize against any solid movement toward him in Chicago and deny Grant the momentum he needed to ride to victory on the first ballot. For once in his political life, he had received some good advice from the people around him and had chosen, for whatever his personal reasons, to ignore their counsel. Grant's nomination hopes now rested upon adoption of the unit rule which would force his wavering delegates to hold firm on the first ballot. The

battle over Conkling's unit rule resolution raged for two days and ended in defeat for the Grant Legions when James A. Garfield, Sherman's campaign manager and darkhorse candidate himself, rose to deliver a rousing speech for party harmony and freedom of action for each delegate. Unlike Grant, Garfield's timing was perfect. The speech made him the man of the hour, and, on the 36th ballot, the Republican nominee for president. The majority of the old Chieftain's delegation remained loyal, and on the last ballot he gained two additional votes over his original tally. It wasn't enough, however, as Garfield swept the victory. The defeat in Chicago ended Grant's political career.

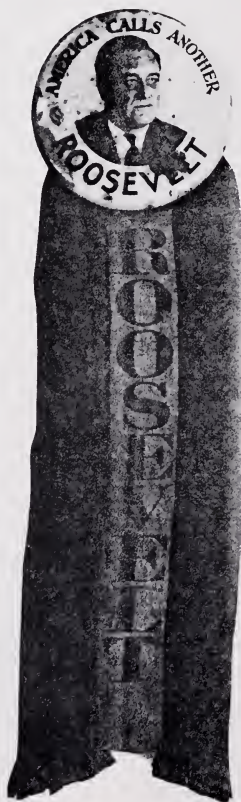
When Grant lost his last battle in 1885, Mark Twain said of him, "This is the simple soldier who linked words together with an art surpassing the art of the schools and put into them a something which will bring to American ears, as long as America shall last, the roll of his vanished drums and the tread of his marching hosts."★

ITEMS OF INTEREST



↑
Paperboard Fan
For Notification
Day Ceremony
1924

▶
Roosevelt Button
Made By
Chattanooga
Button & Badge Co.,
Chattanooga,
Tennessee





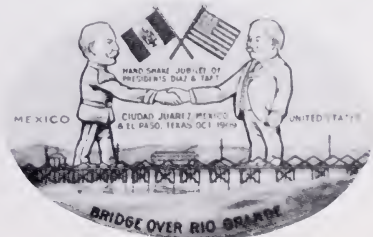
Banner



Banner



Bronze Medal



Ohio's George H. Pendleton

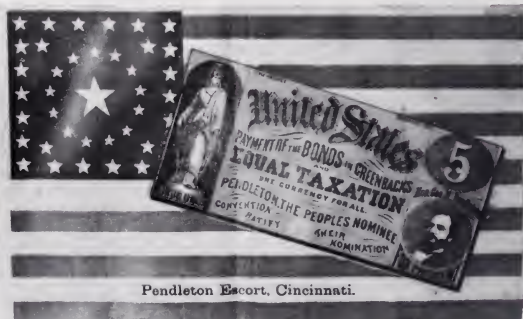
1868 DEMOCRATIC HOPEFUL

By Mark Gelke

As the Democratic Party opened its 1868 convention in New York City, George H. Pendleton, Senator from Ohio, was favored to capture the party's nomination for the Presidency. Senator Pendleton, author of the "Ohio Idea" which advocated the government's continued issuance of "Greenbacks," hoped to ride this popular issue to the White House. As the balloting in the convention opened, Pendleton received 105 of the 212 votes needed for nomination. As the balloting continued, however, the Senator from Ohio lost support. On the 22nd ballot, the convention chose as their nominee the Governor of New York Horatio Seymour. Unfortunately for the Democrats, the Republican nominee, Ulysses S. Grant, defeated Seymour in the election, becoming our nation's 18th president.

This extremely rare flag banner, the only known example, was presented to George H. Pendleton by Sergeant Bates at the Democratic

National Convention on July 4, 1868. Although Senator Pendleton lost the nomination of his party, the Democrats used the design of this flag in producing a similar banner promoting the candidacy of Seymour.



ITEMS OF INTEREST



Handpainted Large Canvas and Leather Campaign Ball - For Harrison and Morton 1888. Similar to Large Leather Rolling Balls Pushed Between Towns in 1840 by Wm. H. Harrison Supporters. Original Sepia Cabinet Photograph.

DATING JACKSON HISTORICAL CHINA

By Donald Ackerman

Manufacturers of campaign items during the early and mid-nineteenth century had a problem unique to that period. With few exceptions, they had no first-hand knowledge of what the candidates looked like. Until the introduction of mass produced photographs during the election of 1860, providing a "true and correct likeness" of the nominee was a sticky problem. This was especially true for the English potters of the Liverpool and Staffordshire regions who produced a vast quantity of commemorative china during this early period. These manufacturers satisfied the demand in three ways: by creating imaginary and idealized portraits, by substituting available portraits of similar public figures (Franklin likenesses labeled "Washington", William IV managed a good imitation of "General Jackson" in a pinch), and by copying engravings.

Although candidates of this period deemed it improper to make public appearances and campaign, they nevertheless would subject themselves to occasional formal sittings. The singular artwork produced (pastel, oil, or miniature) could then be copied as an engraving, lithograph, or woodcut, and the candidate's image thereby spread across the electoral landscape. The reproduced portrait often found its way onto medals, ribbons, campaign biographies, pocket mirrors, snuff boxes, and china. The voter's curiosity and need for visual contact and approval was thereby partially satisfied.

Students of historical china often attempt to date a piece by the publication date of the engraving which appears to have been the model for the piece. Ellouise Larsen in *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China* dates as 1828 various lustreware pieces inscribed "General



Longacre's 1824 Engraving - a possible source for Jackson transferware. National Portrait Gallery, the Smithsonian Institution.



NEW JACKSON.

1828 engraving by Childs originally thought to be basis for Jackson transferware.



Undated Engraving by William Harrison, Jr. apparently intended for use on top of a snuff box

Jackson "The Hero of New Orleans". She assumes the Jackson portrait was copied from G. G. Childs' engraving "Protector & Defender of Beauty & Booty" (see notes on Hake AJ3004 for reference to the slogan "Beauty and Booty"), published in Philadelphia in 1828 and copied from a miniature painting by Joseph Wood. An inquiry to the National Portrait Gallery discloses the fact that seven different engravings are known based on the Wood portrait. They were published between 1824 and 1834. The earliest one was published in 1824 by James Barton Longacre who later achieved considerable fame as an engraver at the U.S. Mint (he designed the Indian head cent and \$20 gold piece).

Since it is extremely unlikely that the Staffordshire potters had access to the Wood portrait, we can safely



Medium Size Copper Lustre Pitcher with orange-red banding and black transfer

assume that they used one of the seven engravings as a source for their lustreware portraits. We can also assume that such pottery could not have been produced prior to 1824, and may either date from 1824 to 1828. The use of the slogan "Hero of New Orleans" would seem to rule out an 1832 attribution. 1828 proponents will point to the fact that 1828 was a much more active campaign than 1824, produced a disproportionate amount of items and therefore, probability and chance favors their position. 1824 proponents will point out the similarity of Jackson lustreware to that issued to commemorate Lafayette's visit in 1824. In addition, there exists a Pennsylvania redware loaf dish with a yellow slip decorated with the inscription "Lafayette Jackson". In the great patriotic fervor accompanying Lafayette's 1824 tour, could Jackson partisans be



Strawberry Lustre Plate with Mulberry Transfer



Large Size Copper Lustre Pitcher with Powder Blue Banding and Black Transfer

faulted for attempting to share the sunshine of public adulation and "ride the coattails" of the Marquis? It would have been a golden opportunity to make "political hay". We can only speculate now. Larsen's attribution of 1828, heretofore universally accepted, now becomes an open question.

Pictured are four pieces of transferware that utilize the Wood portrait. Each portrait has variations that set it apart from the others, inasmuch as each engraving was prepared for a different size or shape of pottery. These pieces are intrinsically political. The Liverpool pitcher shown is non-political, commemorating heroes of the War of 1812. Commodore Perry is depicted on the reverse and a ship under the spout. The subject matter along with the youthful figure of Jackson in military garb point towards a date of manufacture around 1815. The last item

pictured is the only piece of Jackson historical china known that is inscribed with a year of origin. The 4 1/2" high copper lustre pitcher has a black inscription reading "Genl. Jackson Hero of America The Year 1824." Nothing in any of the standard reference books on campaign items (DeWitt, Sullivan, and Hake) shows a single item dated 1824. The six brass tokens that DeWitt assigns to 1824 are not dated and cannot be positively attributed to 1824. Prior to this campaign, items issued were primarily commemorative, such as G.W. buttons and Liverpool ware; or, if political, confined to ballots, broadsides, and pamphlets. This pitcher is one of the first legitimate campaign items to exist (by definition, a graphic, visual object used to attract voters in a partisan effort) and reconfirms 1824 as the primal campaign. ★



8" High Liverpool Pitcher
with Black Transfer



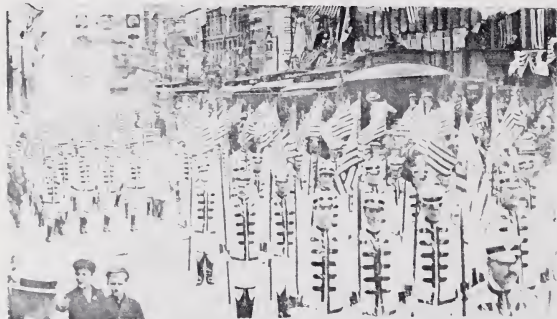
Copper Lustre Pitcher
Dated 1824 - Only Dated Jackson
China Piece Known



Enoch Wood Cupplate with Rust
Transfer and Rim. Also seen in
black, though far rarer.

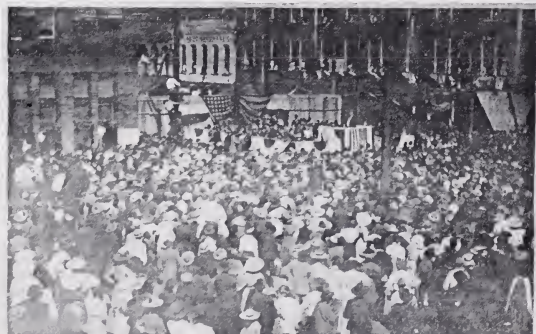


APIC POSTCARD PROJECT



Genesee St -Sherman Notification Day. Manning, Utica.

1908 Notification Day Parade for James Sherman — Note Bryan-Kern Banner over street in background



Pub. by the Long Co., Chicago, Ill.

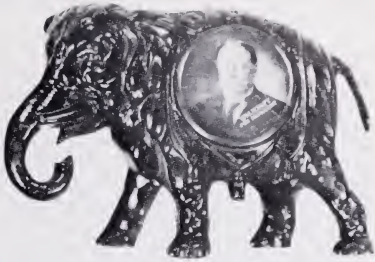




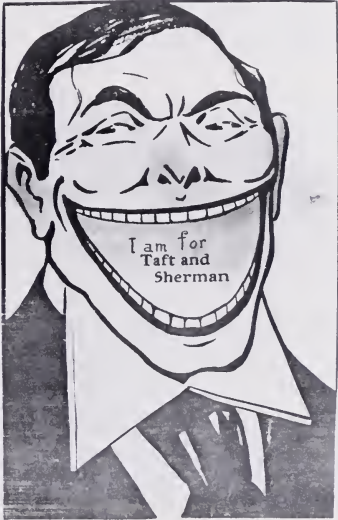
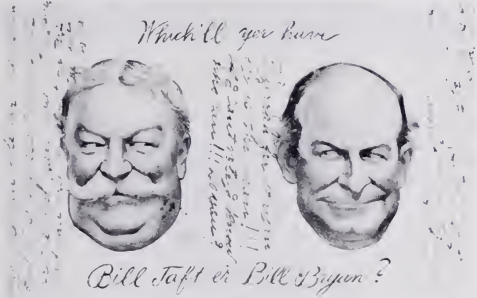
Metal Tip Tray



Pewter
Cane Head



Cast Iron Elephant



Bronze Turtle



For your kind, When you won't vote for Mr. Taft!
Now and then I'll give you a kiss!



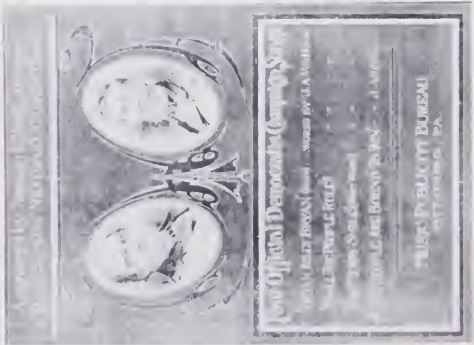
PAYING HIS ELECTION BET IN

NOVEMBER 1912

APIC SHEET MUSIC PROJECT

PART THREE





THE STORY BEHIND THE BUTTON:

THE GROUNDHOGS OF VIRGINIA

By Dwayne Yancey

Reprinted from the Roanoke, VA Times & World News, February 1, 1986. The editors thank John Bowles for providing this article, which finally explains the background for the Groundhogs' Roosevelt button.



Imagine it is 1917 or 1956 or one of the years in between. It is Feb. 2, in the dead of winter, in the raw little city of Roanoke. If you're a white man, and consider yourself one of the boys, you're at the Masonic Temple, or later the American Legion Auditorium, where a raucous, backslapping crowd is pouring in.

The hall is packed, maybe with thousands. Cigarette smoke hangs thick in the old building, which trembles with the buzz of excitement. This stag night has been talked about for weeks. A hillbilly band is playing.

Promptly at 7:59 p.m., the clang of a cowbell calls the crowd to order. On stage, a live groundhog peers out helplessly from his cage. The Groundhog Club of America No. 1 is in session.

Once, but not so long ago, when Roanoke was smaller and a far different place than it is today, there was the Groundhog Club. From 1917 to 1936, and again from 1949 to 1956, it cast its own shadow across the Roanoke Valley.

The Groundhog Club was a phenomenon, a spectacle, a tradition, an institution. A huge crowd — in its heyday, up to 6,500 men (and men only) — would gather each Feb. 2, Groundhog Day, for a rowdy evening of off-color jokes and satirical skits that poked fun at Roanoke Valley politicians and other prominent citizens.

"This was our motto, that you could tell anything on anybody, just so it's not the truth," laughs Jubal Angell, now 78, whose father founded the Groundhog Club and who himself was its president for a while. "We used to tell the most outlandish things." "This wasn't something you'd take your wife, mother, daughter or sister to," recalls Saunders Guerrant, 85, a retired insurance man. "I think that describes it. They had no business over there."

"The main purpose was to ridicule prominent people," Guerrant says. In grand Groundhog tradition, a "court" would subject public figures to a mock trial, with instructions "to find the defendants guilty regardless of testimony and evidence." "We'd ask the whole audience to vote on if he is guilty or not guilty and they'd all roar out 'guilty,'" says Frank Angell, 83, Jubal's brother.

Usually the "indictments" were in jest, as in 1953 when state Sen. Charles Fenwick was convicted of "violating aviation laws" by attempting "to fly into the Governor's Mansion on the tail of a Byrd."

But sometimes they seemed to cut awfully close to the truth, as in 1921 when George Pitzer was charged with "courting two widows at the same time" and J.H. Chitwood was charged with paying a blind newsboy with a fake coin for a copy of the evening paper.

The Groundhog Club thrived in a time before television, when the rough-and-tumble traditions of vaudeville and minstrel shows were still fresh. The Groundhog Club staged ribald entertainment, yes, but it was more of a forum for social commentary, a hometown amateur night in which everyone played an early-day Mark Russell.

Take the year, forgotten now, when there was a lynching in Wytheville and the federal prosecutor was struggling to identify and indict the mob leaders: "They bragged on what a fine district attorney we had," recalls Guerrant. "They said he went down to Wytheville, went over the ground most thoroughly and found a hat. In the hat he found a name. And on the basis of that he indicted John P. Stetson for the murder."

Another year, in another skit, a newsboy came on stage hawking papers: "Pig Robertson buys the Roanoke Times!" he shouted. (Robertson was a Roanoke Valley state legislator.) The boy's father frantically inspected the newspapers he was selling and scolded him for yelling a fake headline. As the Roanoke Times reported the punchline: "The youngster argued that it sold a lot of newspapers — much to the laughter of those who remembered the last congressional campaign."

And always, a confused, agitated but nevertheless live groundhog occupied the seat of honor on the stage. (In 1927, there were four groundhogs on display). "They'd offer \$5 to any kid who'd bring in a groundhog they might use for the day," says Frank Angell. Sometimes the honored guest would remain as a pet for several years. In 1917, the groundhog spent all day Feb. 2 in the window of Keyser's Drug Store. In 1933, he was on display in a downtown Roanoke tobacco shop. In 1922, two bears were paraded across the stage.

In the Groundhog Club's later years, the highlight of the evening came with the arrival of Madame Fifi (actually, Ed Ballard, who worked in a clothing store) — a specimen of womanhood that "makes Mae West look anemic by comparison," according to one old newspaper

clipping. Madame Fifi, dressed in a scanty harem costume, was escorted down the center aisle by two uniformed soldiers bearing rifles "to see the men kept their hands off her," says Guerrant. "They were all hooting and hollering. He did a magnificent act. You'd have to be in the right mental attitude." As Jubal Angell puts it: "We were grown men, but we'd carry on like teenagers."

In 1921, the Roanoke Times reported that "smokes and drinks were passed around at the conclusion of the meeting" — even though Virginia had banned liquor five years before.

The Roanoke Times described the 1928 Groundhog Club as "the largest meeting of men ever held in Roanoke," breaking the old record set when evangelist Billy Sunday came to preach. The paper reported that "hundreds stood, occupying every corner and niche. Others found roosting places in the steel girders above the balcony, on the stairways and in the windows. A groundswell of abandon swept with amazing force over the crowd to destroy every vestige of workday worry and care. The Groundhogs gave vent to their satisfaction in shrieks, whistles, cheers and clapping of hands." Despite all the racket — including a gong that was banged to call time on the speakers — "a large groundhog snoozed comfortably in a wire cage" throughout the evening.

The Groundhog Club, for all its earthy humor, served a sort of civic function — much like Washington's present-day Gridiron Club that "roasts" prominent figures. Local politicians were almost always present at the Groundhog Club — even though they were likely to be subjected to who knows what kind of good-natured humiliation. A visit to the Groundhog Club was a must for city council candidates and sometimes even candidates for governor.

One former governor — Lee Trinkle, a Roanoke businessman — was a leading Groundhog Club organizer in its early years. Sixth District Congressman Clifton Woodrum was almost always present or sent a humorous telegram of regrets in the 1930s. So did Rep. Richard Poff in the 1950s.

So attached were Roanokers to the Groundhog Club that in 1927 there was a serious attempt made to name the city's new minor league baseball team the Roanoke Groundhogs. "It was part of Roanoke," Guerrant says of the club. "The auditorium was always filled up."

Kip Lornell, a folklorist at Ferrum College's Blue Ridge Institute has a more sociological explanation of the Groundhog Club. "It's a classic case of cultural inversion," he says. The mock trials are "a pretty classic example of people in lesser positions gaining power for a brief period of time. It's like Mardi Gras or Halloween or any other activity that allows you to do what you normally can't."

But in the beginning, the Groundhog Club was simply an excuse for entertainment.

The club was founded by Bob Angell, who grew up in Franklin County, came to Roanoke as "a barefoot boy in overalls," became a millionaire several times over and then was nearly wiped out during the Depression. Angell founded Shenandoah Life Insurance Company, and was state Republican chairman when Herbert Hoover was

elected. He went fishing with the president in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

As son Jubal tells it, the Groundhog Club began when Bob Angell was sitting around Keyser's drugstore in downtown Roanoke with some of his friends on the night of Feb. 2, 1916. "Someone said, by golly, today's Groundhog Day, let's have a Groundhog Day party next year." When they did, some 200 people showed up. The next day, the Roanoke Times pitied those who missed it: "They overlooked something that will go down in the annals of Roanoke as one of the greatest meetings ever held in this city."

Hardly. Before long, the annual Groundhog Club night was drawing upwards of 6,500 people.

Bob Angell was its only president and chief organizer. When he died in 1933, the club floundered. The 1934 Groundhog Club was mostly a memorial to its late president. Congressman Woodrum delivered a long eulogy that was printed in the Congressional Record. The club met again in 1935 but then was no more.

Thirteen years later, after World War II had come and gone, a polio epidemic struck Southwest Virginia. Jubal Angell — then a salesman for a quarry — was sitting around with some of his friends at J.A. Deyerle's gas station in Wasena, talking about ways they could help.

Somehow the talk turned to the bygone days of the Groundhog Club. We said, "Wouldn't it be nice to get it going again?" In December '48 we quit talking and started doing something."

Angell didn't know what to expect at the Groundhog Club revival in 1949 — but 3,000 men showed up. "The Groundhog Club was something that meant so much to them, especially those in the twilight of life" who remembered the first Groundhog Club, Angell says. Ushers took up a collection for the March of Dimes and the Heart Fund; some years, donations ran close to \$1,000.

The second Groundhog Club thrived through the early '50s, again drawing crowds of up to 4,500. The club got national attention. In 1955, it was featured on the "Today" show — and Roanoke had a chance to rival Punxsutawney, Pa. for groundhog honors. Correspondent Frank Blair had arranged to call Jubal Angell just after the show went on the air at 7 a.m. to find out whether the club's groundhog, Joe Jr. had seen his shadow.

At 5:30 a.m., Angell got a phone call telling him Joe had died during the night. Angell couldn't bear to tell that to a nationwide television audience. So when Blair called, right on schedule, he exercised an old Groundhog Club privilege — and told a lie.

Maybe that was an omen. After that, attendance began to dwindle.

In 1957, the club couldn't seem to get organized in time, so the annual meeting was unexpectedly canceled. In an editorial headlined "Sad News from the Groundhog Lodge," the Roanoke Times blamed its demise on competition from that new art form, television.

That fall, the American Legion Auditorium — the valley's only large meeting hall — burned. Recalls Horace Fitzpatrick, 72, a retired Kroger bakery chief and former Groundhogger: "When the auditorium burned down, the club burned down, too."★

The Story Behind The Handbill

By Robert A. Cutter

In a recent Historicana auction, a last-minute check caught an item I had previously missed — a tattered, browned handbill shown here. Because I collect New York items, I bid and won it, and opened a veritable Pandora's box.

The election in question was 1934, a time when the Socialist Party was tearing itself apart. Yet, here on this handbill were four famed Socialists of varying opinions, appearing together.

Charles Solomon (I've never seen a picture button for him) tops the bill. An "Old Guard" Socialist, he was a labor lawyer who ran for Lieutenant Governor in Thomas's own try for the governorship in 1924. In 1933, he had run a poor fourth in the New York City mayoral campaign against Fiorello LaGuardia, James O'Brien and Joseph McKee, garnering but 61,450 votes.

But Solomon's fame rested on a once famous incident in 1920 when he, Sam DeWitt, and three other Socialist State Assemblymen who represented perhaps 60,000 New Yorkers were called before the Republican Speaker, Thaddeus Sweet, and denied their legally elected seats because they were "subversives". Governor Charles Evans Hughes and many others decried the move, but it stuck, and only one of the five was returned in 1922. It was not Solomon.

But in 1934, he won the gubernatorial nomination at the rowdy July 1st Socialist Convention, marred by fistfights and denunciations of reformers like Thomas. Solomon beat out Thomas's personal choice, Prof. Coleman B. Cheney of Skidmore. Running against Herbert Lehman, Solomon would poll but 126,580 votes in 1934.

Thomas had enough support to get the Senatorial nomination after his main opponent, *New Leader* editor James O'Neal, withdrew in his favor. Thomas campaigned mainly upstate and out on Long Island, since the Old Guard controlled the city, and pulled in 61,000 unexpected upstate votes to record a total of 194,952 against incumbent Royal Copeland. His battered Chevy and his wife as his companion were familiar sights from July through November across the state.

Thomas's neglect of New York City makes this October 22nd meeting in Queens all the more unusual.

And on the speaker's stand with him was Harry W. Laidler, his 5 foot, 6 inch constant companion and co-chairman with Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), which Laidlaw had helped found in 1905 while still a Wesleyan undergraduate, as the ISS (Intercollegiate Socialist Society). He kept the job until the late 1950s.

The other candidate, (Stamuel) A. DeWitt, running for U.S. Representative, was that other "hero" of the 1920 Assembly fiasco. In 1927, he gained further prominence as the chairman of the Sacco-Vanzetti Death Watch Convention in New York's big Community Church.

Even the drive for unity that brought these battling Socialists together on the same platform didn't help. The

RALLY-SOCIALIST-RALLY

SPEAKERS:

Charles Solomon
for Governor

Norman Thomas
for U. S. Senator



Harry W. Laidler
for Comptroller of New York City

S. A. DeWitt
for Congress

and local candidates

Monday, October 22, 8 P.M.

Public School No. 6

STEINWAY AVENUE

Between Jamaica Ave. and Broadway

Admission Free **Everyone Welcome**

Queens County Socialist Party

Auspices:

Astoria Branch, 3202 Steinway Avenue

Vote Socialist—Don't Scab at the Ballot-Box

Socialist slide from the New York ballot had started, and would be completed in 1938 when Thomas again would run for Governor (but not campaign), and his 24,890 votes would be the last cast on a Socialist line, the party faithful moving into the new American Labor Party.

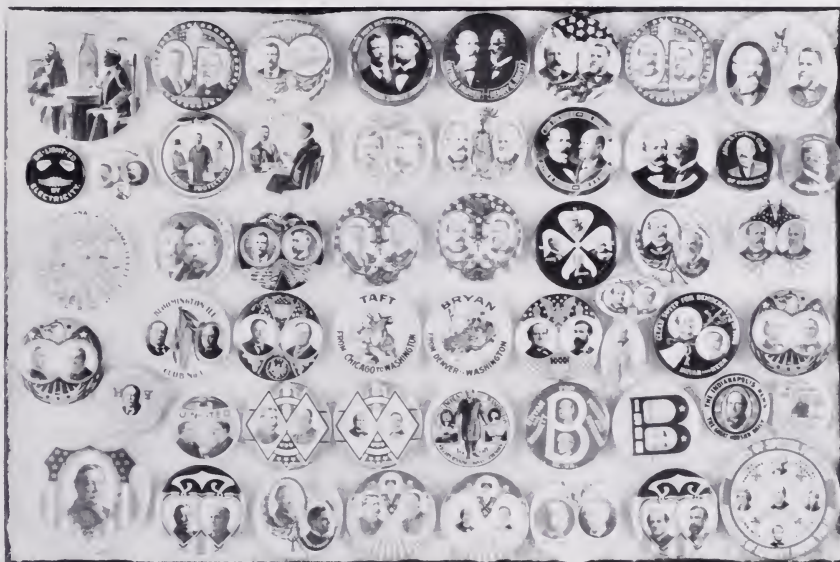
All this from one tattered handbill and a little research.



COLLECTORS CORNER

This page will hopefully be filled each issue with photos of items from outstanding individual collections. The Keynoter is looking for groups of items or single items of all types that are the prizes of our members'

collections. If you have items that are unique or previously unpictured, please share them with other collectors. This is *your* page.





NEWS

ED POTTER 1927 - 1987

Ed Potter was one of the most likeable people in the hobby. His enthusiasm was so contagious, everyone around him got caught up in it. He would get just as excited over a \$5 item as he would over an expensive piece, if it was something he liked or "needed."

If there was a new dealer at a meeting, Ed would always go over to his or her table and buy something. It made the dealer feel good, and it was good for the hobby.

Ed, we'll miss you.

—Lynn Bettman

Every once in awhile a very few of us are fortunate to know a truly remarkable individual. Ed Potter was such a person. He could make any occasion special. For those of us who knew Ed personally, we saw a unique mixture of enthusiasm, dedication, thoughtfulness and generosity.

I had the pleasure of serving with him as an officer of the Metropolitan A.P.I.C. chapter during the sixties. Since we met in the Commodore Hotel, the meeting room rate was usually above our budget; Ed was the first person to volunteer and usually would make up the entire deficit himself. It was always Ed who volunteered to help the club; without his generous gift the F.D.R. Keynote might not have been printed.

While serving on the A.P.I.C. board of directors for years, many of his realistic approaches to topics before the organization were adopted. Any meeting he attended was made more enjoyable and memorable just because of his presence.

Ed, a highly successful partner in a noted Wall Street



firm, looked upon our hobby as a source of relaxation and enjoyment. He started collecting items from candidates who ran during his lifetime and later included political items from all eras, but his political license plate collection was what he liked the best and was second to none. Personally, everytime I see a political license plate, I will think of Ed.

In some cases superlatives are overused to describe individuals and their effects on an organization, but in this case words cannot fully describe what Ed's impact was to those of us who knew him and to the A.P.I.C. as a whole. We all have lost a dear friend.

—David J. Frent



Bookmark



IT'S UP TO THE MAN ON
THE OTHER SIDE TO PUT
THIS TRIED & SAFE MAN
AT THE HEAD OF THE
GOVERNMENT

Mirror



Prosperity Arch constructed with bales of cotton to commemorate the visit of President Taft to Macon, Georgia in November 1909. Note size of horse and carriage passing thru the arch.

OUR CANDIDATE



William H. Taft.